

DEFINING IDENTITY: A PROSOPOGRAPHY OF RUNAWAY SLAVES IN
THE FRENCH CARIBBEAN

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ABSTRACT

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My thesis will use runaway slave ads collected from a daily newspaper printed in the French colony of Saint Domingue (Haiti¹).

I will explore how masters tried to identify their slaves sufficiently so they might be apprehended and returned. Runaway slave ads provide a more realistic and honest description of how masters tried to label their slaves in contrast to sale ads, which sometimes exaggerated the truth in an attempt to make a sale.

This thesis explores escaped slave advertisements from Haiti, Martinique and Guadeloupe to analyze those differences and similarities that existed concerning those who ran away. It provides unique insight into slave education, occupation, physical abuse, and objects that facilitate fleeing.

These ads represent the untold stories of thousands of slaves, and through a close reading, the story of the individuals who ran away and fought to be free become known.

¹ The country today known as Haiti on the island of Hispaniola was the colony of Saint-Domingue under French rule. While the name Haiti had yet to be the official name, for convenience sake I will sometimes refer to Saint-Domingue as Haiti with the understanding that modern-day Haiti was the colony Saint-Domingue from 1625-1804.

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Part I: Introduction

There was a time when the island on which the impoverished country of Haiti resides today was seen as a golden cornucopia. Following the French colonization of Haiti in 1697, it soon became an important asset to the French Colonial Empire. The comfortable life that White French colonists were able to create for themselves was built on the backs of Black slave labor. Having a system of bondage in place allowed the French to exploit the “Jewel of the Antilles,” as it was called, and to profit significantly through the widespread cultivation and production of sugar and coffee. These profiteers justified the subjugation of their fellow man through philosophical ideas spread during the Enlightenment period.

As Michel-Rolph Trouillot discusses in *Silencing the Past*, early on there were negative connotations associated with darker skin color. The pervasiveness of the idea of dark as bad stretched all the way to print, with the French word for black (“nègre”) first entering French dictionaries and glossaries with, “negative undertones increasingly precise... By the middle of the 18th century black was almost universally bad” (*Silencing the Past*, Trouillot).

The idea of black skin signifying inferiority further crystalized the racial hierarchy. This meant that men and women forced into servitude, while not valued as individuals, were valuable assets to their masters at least financially speaking. The question of value and how value is defined will become an important one as we explore whom slave owners were making an effort to recover through their advertisements.

Attempts at self-emancipation in the form of running away from their masters was one of the few ways that those in bondage could push back against the institution of slavery and racial oppression. Runaway slaves not only meant a financial loss of property, but also threatened the

entire legitimacy of the institution of slavery. Every worker who managed to escape permanently made the idea of “another way” of living possible for those in bondage. It should come as no surprise then, that masters placed runaway slave advertisements in the colony’s newspaper. Photography had yet to be invented and the descriptions written by owners were key if they hoped to successfully retrieve the escapees. There exists online a database that has extracted runaway slave advertisements from periodicals of the 18th century and this resource is rich with information to inform this research.

In this paper, I will study the descriptors used by masters and how they can answer the question, “How do masters try to identify their slaves sufficiently to be brought back to them?” Specifically I will focus on signs of physical abuse and education along with addressing outliers within the whole of runaway slave advertisements from the French Caribbean. Both signs of physical abuse and education will be broken down into subcategories in an effort to narrow in on how specific language used can give us insight into the psyche of these slave owners.

Part II: Methodology

The goal of this study is not to give an exhaustive list of every identifying marker attributed to runaway slaves by their masters in French Caribbean colonial society. That would not be possible, as holes inevitably exist in the primary source material available from the 18th century in the Caribbean and the information that is documented and accessible may not include every person in bondage who attempted to flee from their situation.

I will instead focus on two groupings of descriptors that masters used in their attempts to identify their runaway slaves. These categories include: signs of physical abuse and education level. My hope is that by focusing on select indices, I will be able to provide some insight as to what slaves that masters described a certain way may have been like.

Therefore this study can be categorized as a prosopography² of petit marronnage during the 18th century in the Caribbean, specifically among the French colonies. Petit marronnage refers to cases of individuals escaping bondage, but doing so independently, and outside of an organized rebellion movement. By looking at the qualitative aspects of these singular incidents I hope to create a clearer picture not only of the masters who wrote the ads, but also the slaves to whom they refer.

As mentioned in the introduction, I will be using a database that has extracted over 12,000 runaway advertisements and jail announcements posted in the weekly periodical from the colony of Saint Domingue. In order to properly understand how I will conduct my research, it is necessary to explain the database itself. The website was established by the University of

² Merriam-Webster defines prosopography as “a study that identifies and relates a group of persons or characters within a particular historical or literary context”

Sherbrooke in Quebec in conjunction with French Atlantic History Group³. On the site, they have extracted 24 years (1766-1790) worth of data on runaway slaves from the newspaper of the Saint Domingue colonial paper *Les Affiches Américaines*. Their intention is to work towards, “de-compartmentaliz[ing] the archives of slavery in the French Atlantic world”⁴. They are well on their way by adding significantly to the available primary source material. This database can serve as an invaluable resource for any scholar or academic looking at slavery in Haiti or the French Caribbean.

All of the news clippings are in their original French, however along with including a picture of the ad, the website’s founders have typed and transcribed them into modern French to the best of their ability. This means that I will be doing all of the translating myself, and have included the original French text to lengthier, quoted excerpts in the footnotes.

The online format of this database will allow me to use a method of searching individual terms in order to observe trends and anecdotally characterize language owners used to describe slaves’ traits. This seems to be the most effective way to answer the question of how masters tried to identify their slaves sufficiently so they might be apprehended and returned. It appears to be the most effective way to collect data from such a large and varied database. There will inevitably be differences in the verbiage used, but by narrowing down the entire body of advertisements to groupings related by keywords, I will be able to read the entire corpus of announcements related to that word and better smooth out variances in order to find the

³ The French Atlantic History Group is based out of McGill University in Montreal, and connects research and resources of four Canadian Universities in the city. The group considers itself, a “forum for new research in the history of the Francophone Atlantic world in the early modern period (1500-1830)” <https://www.mcgill.ca/history/research/affiliated>

⁴ Presentation : Marronnage in Saint-Domingue (Haïti). (n.d.). Retrieved December 01, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/en/accueil.php>

relationship between characterizations masters used when distinguishing slaves with particular attributes.

I have chosen to focus on advertisements looking for escaped slaves instead announcements of sale because a master would have had more motivation to be honest and realistic when looking for a runaway. When trying to make a sale versus trying to pay someone to recover a slave, we can assume that in the sale ad they may exaggerate aspects that would increase the sale price such as ability to work, age, skill set and so on. Alternatively, in the ad of flight, we can assume that the master would try to give a clear and honest portrayal, fully describing all identifying elements, include negative ones.

The various runaway advertisements contain similar structure with certain key information included in each one⁵. First the race or origin of the slave is listed and a name if they had one. Next masters include physical details such as height, stature, age, and distinct facial features. Also typically addressed towards the first half of the notice is any sign of physical abuse or disfiguration. This includes branding marks, scarring, whip marks, and signs of neglect. Any background information, and less relevant remarks in identifying the runaway, such as where they may have fled to, if they were taken, or what their upbringing was like follows next. Lastly, the writer will include how long the escapee has been missing, who to contact if he or she is found and any reward if there is one to be had. Overall, the level of detail and apparent honesty found in these written records of specific slaves provide more information on individuals in bondage in the French colonies than almost any other source.

While bulletins looking for runaways may be more honest than those announcing a slave's sale, I have still encountered limitations. One of these impediments was the use of

⁵ See appendix G for sample advertisements

archaic French, or colloquial French from a time period in which the language had not yet been standardized. The lack of standard French means the orthography of words the authors used is not always consistent. Deciphering the “old” French will be a challenge, however, by using my fluency in modern French, I should be able to understand the majority of each runaway bulletin, allowing me to decipher the terms I am unfamiliar with.

Part III: Background

In order to create a better understanding of the analysis of runaway slave ads, a proper historical context is necessary. The 12,710 runaway advertisements that discuss slave and slave masters originated primarily from the island of modern-day Haiti, with 12,435 coming from there, however approximately 275 are from Martinique and Guadeloupe. Accordingly, I will focus my attention on the history of Haiti, while briefly covering the history of Martinique and Guadeloupe.

Haiti/Saint-Domingue

Prior to European colonization, the Arawak Indian tribe inhabited the island of Hispaniola. However the Arawak people were effectively extinct following the arrival of the Spaniards due to the introduction of European diseases in conjunction with exhaustion caused by excessive and demanding labor⁶. While the Spaniards had previously arrived on the island of Hispaniola (where the Dominican Republic and Haiti reside today), they had focused almost exclusively on the eastern end of the island⁷ (Singer 41). As the French were expanding their empire⁸, their decision to inhabit the western side of Hispaniola proved to be a profitable one.

After the Spaniards had annihilated the native population, when French decided to take over the virtually untouched western portion of the island, they needed to bring in laborers to work the fields. The fertile lands upon which Saint Domingue reside earned it the title of, “The

⁶ Columbus landed on Saint Domingue which he called Espanola (Little Spain) on December 6, 1492 (Singer 41)

⁷ Up until formal colonization by the French, French pirates took advantage of the nearly uninhabited western side of the island. (Singer 41)

⁸ During the late 17th century Louis XIV ruled as the absolute monarch of France, implementing aggressive French foreign policy and active colonial expansion within Europe and overseas ("Historic Figures: Louis XIV 1638-1715"). This desire for increased power and global control came from Louis XIV's belief that, “his power came directly from God” ("Historic Figures: Louis XIV 1638-1715").

Pearl of the Antilles” (Quinn 83). The climate and soil was ideal for growing sugar cane in addition to coffee, both extremely profitable crops albeit difficult to harvest (Quinn 83).

During that time period, forty percent of France’s foreign trade profit was coming out of Saint-Domingue⁹ (Quinn 83). Of the 7,000 plantations, the majority of the owners were absentee¹⁰. Due to the hard labor of plantation work in addition to the long journey across the Atlantic, there was a constant need for newly imported slaves¹¹ (Meyer 238). At its peak, Saint-Domingue was importing around 30,000 slaves each year¹² (Quinn 83). The high number of black slaves meant that only 7% of the population was white (Quinn 88).

The slave majority on the island created a feeling of unrest constantly brewing right below the surface; the French colonizers were dependent on slaves yet at the same time fearful of them due to their majority. This lent itself well to continual rebellions and revolts by the slaves.¹³ The first large revolt was 1669 to 1671, with the second largest revolt a few decades later in 1722¹⁴ (Meyer 154).

In 1794, an attack by British forces on Saint-Domingue loomed, however continental wars and internal conflicts kept France’s military leaders occupied (Quinn 89). Nonetheless, the

⁹ “[Saint Domingue] was the source of 2/5 of the world’s sugar production and over half of the world’s coffee.” (Quinn 83)

¹⁰ « La grande plantation est ‘capitaliste’, aux mains de la grande aristocratie de Cour, souvent absentéiste à Saint Domingue. » (Meyer 125)

¹¹ « Saint-Domingue a en effet sans cesse besoin d’esclaves. Cela correspond d’abord à un accroissement de la mise en valeur favorisé par un afflux de métropolitains arrivés après le traité de Paris » (Meyer 238).

¹² The height of slave imports was during the final few decades of the 18th century, with the slave population nearly doubling in the 1780s (Quinn 83).

¹³ « Cette population libre est donc composite, étant formée d’esclaves noirs libérées et de mulâtres... Ils sont plus souvent qu’on ne l’imagine, propriétaires de plantations, donc d’esclaves noirs, ou artisans, voire marchands » (Meyer 125).

¹⁴ « il est naturel que cette société finisse par sécréter, et ce très vite, de vives réactions face à la métropole... puis de 1669 à 1671 révolte à Saint-Domingue ... suivie par la 2^{ème} grande révolte de Saint-Domingue, en 1722-1723 » (Meyer 154).

French government responded to the threat by appointing Toussaint Louverture (a black former slave) as the commander of French forces in Saint Domingue in May of 1794 (Quinn 89). By 1798 Louverture had been successful in defeating the British, and felt so empowered that he went on to name himself governor for life and called for a local constitution in 1801 (Quinn 95). Louverture's popularity and leadership gave rise to a powerful movement, resulting in heavy casualties on both sides before the French deceived him¹⁵¹⁶. In Louverture's absence, Jean-Jacques Dessalines continued to lead the revolution against the French¹⁷(Quinn 96). On January 1st of 1804, the Republic of Haiti declared itself an independent nation (Quinn 96).

Guadeloupe & Martinique

Guadeloupe was the center of contraband in the French Caribbean (Dubois 50). As such, slave traders made the island the last stop when importing slaves. This resulted in a much smaller population than the other two islands. The small slave trade that did exist in Guadeloupe was one based on the importation of slaves from other colonies and slaves that had typically been born in the Caribbean. Due to the acquisition of slaves from other colonies instead of off of slave ships, the composition of the slave population varied from the other islands. The slave population also had a racial breakdown that had a higher percentage of slaves born in the colony instead of African born when compared to the other islands.

¹⁵ The heavy casualties were partially due to a yellow fever epidemic that coincided with the arrival of French troops: "Only 10 thousand of the 59 thousand troops sent to the island between 1791 and 1803 made it back to France in good health; the rest died, mostly of yellow fever" (Quinn 96).

¹⁶ "After prolonged fighting and heavy losses on both sides...the French struck a deal with Louverture... duped by the French he was seized and taken to France where he died in a dungeon" (Quinn 96).

¹⁷ Jean-Jacques Dessalines (1758-1806)

In the collection of slave ads presented in the database, one ad refers to a slave specifically from the island of Marie-Galante. Marie-Galante is a small island off of the south coast of Guadeloupe, and is one of the principal islands that make up the archipelago that makes up the French department of Guadeloupe. As such, the island has followed the same history as Guadeloupe in terms of possession and economy, and population density.

The other French colony mentioned in the runaway notices was the island of Martinique. Martinique was the most developed of the three islands, despite Haiti being the most economically productive¹⁸. This was partially because the island had fewer absentee owners, therefore the colonists demanded more services be at their disposal. Until 1713, Martinique was the most populous French colony at which point Haiti took that title as its slave population began to grow¹⁹.

Demographics of the French Antilles²⁰

During their time as French colonies, the demography of the three islands was constituted of white colonists, free people of color and black or mixed race slaves. The population of Haiti was significantly larger than the other two colonies. Haiti also had a higher proportion of slaves to whites²¹.

Population of the Colonies before 1750

	Slaves/Blacks ²²	Whites	“Gens de Couleur” ²³	Total Population
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¹⁸ (Dubois 49)

¹⁹ *Histoire de la démographie*, Jacques et Michel Dupâquier

²⁰ *Histoire de la démographie*, Jacques et Michel Dupâquier

²¹ 88.8% of the 523,803 habitants were slaves in Haiti

²² The exact wording of each census varies by colony and year. For example the term “gens de couleur” was used interchangeably with “noir libre” to signify free people of color.

Haiti (1730)	79,545	10,449	2,456	92,450
Martinique (1726)	40,403	10,959	1,304	
Guadeloupe (1730)	26,801	7,433	1,262	

Population of the Colonies after 1785

	Slaves/Blacks	Whites	“Gens de Couleur”	Total Population
Haiti (1789) ²⁴	465,000 ²⁵	30,000	28,000	
Martinique (1790)	83,000	10,600	5,000	101,600
Guadeloupe (1790) ²⁶	90,134	13,969	3,125	107,228

²³ This category of “gens de couleur” includes all free people of color no matter their origin or the background. This grouping was a racial classification for any member of the free population who was not white.

²⁴ Different sources cite different numbers for this census data. All of these numbers for the 1789 Saint Domingue census are within 10% accuracy, however there is variance on the exact count of the number of people in each skin color division.

²⁵ Slaves constituted 89% of the Haiti’s demography by this point in time.

²⁶ This year was the unofficial birth of the slave population as significantly overrepresented compared to whites on the island of Guadeloupe.

Part IV: Trends

As the next section will discuss, there exists a broad spectrum of the terms used in the runaway advertisements, from which certain patterns can be seen. These patterns however exist primarily on a micro level, when search term groupings reveal details about a particular subset of the runaway population. While those fleeing bondage were diverse in their individual backgrounds, there are a handful of trends that can be pulled out from the entire corpus of information. These include, the distribution of the year notices were placed, the distribution of the month in which people fled and the ratio of men to women.

The number of advertisements placed each year was distributed fairly evenly across the span of 24 years, with no more than 7.5% placed during any single calendar year²⁷. There is, however a trend that shows a slight increase in runaways towards the end of the paper's printing. The five years with the highest incidence of runaway listings all occurred after 1785²⁸²⁹. Still, no one-year ever constituted more than 10% of the ads.

Even more evenly distributed than the year slaves ran from their masters, is the data concerning what month they chose to flee. While no one attempted to escape bondage any time in January over the entirety of the 24 years, between the other 11 months the dispersal of distribution varies by less than 2%³⁰. This means that slaves were not necessarily picking a particular month in which to make their attempts at freedom, rather it appears they were fleeing indiscriminately. They were not paying attention to what time of the year it was and what the weather would be, but instead ran when they had reached the limit of what they could handle given their situation in bondage.

²⁷ Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Tableaux statistiques. (n.d.).

²⁸ The top five years for runaways were: 1789 (911 entries/7.2%), 1790 (801 entries/6.3%), 1785 (702 entries/5.5%), 1788 (639 entries/5%) and 1787 (619 entries/4.9%).

²⁹ Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Tableaux statistiques. (n.d.).

³⁰ Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Tableaux statistiques. (n.d.).

The percentage of runaways who were male significantly outweighs those who were female, however flight by women did occur. Approximately 82% of those who fled were male and 18% were female; this equates to 14,755 men and 3,121 women mentioned in the ads. It is important to remain cognizant of this statistic when reading about individual identifiers and the gender of the person to whom they are associated.

Part V: Findings

Physical Abuse, Neglect & Accidents

Keeping in mind the trends mentioned in the previous section, the following will analyze the signs of physical abuse and neglect to find what the advertisements reveal about slaves and masters. The runaway slave ads offer more insight into the ways that slaves in Haiti and the French Antilles were abused as slave owners used these physical markings and brutality to identify those in bondage.

Physical Abuse

Within the slave ads, there are several phrases that identify signs of cruelty. The listings mention a variety of forms of pain inflicted intentionally by masters. The most conclusive terms are the ones that mention strikes from the whip, however there are also ads that reference scars and disfigurement such as missing fingers, which implies particularly brutal mistreatment.

The most striking distinction between slaves who showed signs of cruelty was whether they could read or write or whether they had a specific occupation. Very few of the slaves with signs of cruelty were listed as having a specific occupation while only one of the slaves who could read or write had any signs of cruelty. Presumably, educated or useful slaves were less likely to suffer abuse from masters. Certain of the ads listing a slave who had been tortured listed an occupation but one that had been filled in the past. For example, one ad says that the slave was “formerly a wig maker”³¹ and implies that the slave is no longer fulfilling that duty. Despite having former occupations listed, these handfuls of ads do not have a current occupation listed. What the ads do reveal are variants of cruelty, for example whipping.

³¹ Presentation : Marronnage in Saint-Domingue (Haïti). (n.d.). Retrieved November 01, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/en/accueil.php>

Whipping

The maroon notices typically specify where the whip marks appear. Masters whipped those in bondage all along their backside including shoulders, neck, back, and buttocks. Occasionally there were occurrences where masters had struck slaves in the face, however this was rare.

When the placement of scars or markings from the strike of a whip was specified, it was most commonly on the runaway's back, neck or rear end. The back was most common, and when listed was usually listed independent of other strike marks. Owners also typically listed the buttocks as having been struck alone. However when the excerpt stated the back of the neck as having been whipped, it was almost always listed as also having whip markings elsewhere on the runaway's body such as on the back or on the buttocks. It is unclear whether this was intentional, but it is curious that strikes to the back of the neck are rarely mentioned alone. It could be that masters resorted to whipping the neck only after whipping other areas was "insufficient" in disciplining slaves, or it could be that strikes to the neck were accidental and only occurred when owners were whipping else where on the body, or that their back had become so bloody masters had to find somewhere else on their body to whip.

Specific cases of fresh whip marks versus listing scars from previous whippings were uncommon, nevertheless when masters listed recently punished slaves they had almost always fled within the previous three weeks. For example, in one case the man had run away only five days before, and had, "fresh marks on his face and body from a whipping he had received"³²³³.

³² Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Lire les sources. (n.d.). Retrieved November 16, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/fr/lire.php>
15 juillet 1767 | page #224 | annonce #6

³³ Original text: "marqué au visage & a sur le corps des marques encore fraîches des coups de fouet qu'il a reçus..."

The master has made it clear that the disfigurements were not accidental; this level of specificity gives insight into his life. The master was unashamed that he had delivered strikes to the face and in fact he was possibly using it to show that the slave defied him in some way. The advertisement was placed in back-to-back periodicals, again letting the reader know the importance of finding the man escaping bondage.

If a master noted that there were whip marks on the runaway, rarely would that same runaway be identified with a specific skill set. One outlier to this tendency is a notice alerting of a slave who could play the violin but also had significant scarring on his buttocks³⁴. It is also noted that he has a brand on the right and left wrists carrying different names. The man is only 22 years old but is already listed as having been significantly scarred. The phenomenon of a young slave, musically talented and significantly whipped by his master is so uncommon that it is difficult to speculate on what may have happened. Since he has the names of two possible owners on his wrist, it is possible that the first owner beat him and the current owner taught him the violin, or the opposite may have occurred. Plantation owners used a multitude of methods in their attempts to “control” workers.

Shackling & Bondage

Another sign of cruelty, one that implies a mistrust of slaves, is the use of chains and metal neck collars in attempts to prevent slaves from running away. The chains range from being identified simply as a collar around the neck, to a neck cuff and chain which attaches to an ankle cuff, and even to a neck cuff bearing a three foot piece of wood³⁵.

³⁴Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Lire les sources. (n.d.). Retrieved November 16, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/fr/lire.php>
10 mars 1778 | parution no. 10 | page #76 | annonce #1

³⁵ Results rendered from the search term, “nabot au cou”

Of the slaves listed as having a chain of some sort, the age range is not unlike the ages of runaways as a whole. It does not appear that young or “new” slaves are more likely to be chained up.

One interesting phenomenon that presented itself during the course of examining signs of cruelty was the presence of chains however with the absence of branding. Of those chained in bondage, masters had only put brands on about half. It seems that if the owner were so mistrusting as to shackle their slave, branding them in the event of flight would only make sense. For example, one ad lists three slaves who escaped together, none of whom are branded however one has a “metal collar”³⁶. Since they appear to have run away at the same time, and it does not specify that they belonged to different masters, we can assume that they were from the same plantation. Two of the three slaves are listed as coming from the same African tribe³⁷, while the third is listed as creole. The author of the ad included little information on the creole slave, listing only his name and age (Antoine, 25 years old). Of the two Africans, one is missing several toenails, while the other has the metal collar. The question then becomes, why was one of the slaves in chains while the other two were not? Was it a form of punishment? Had the slave run away before, and if so, why was he not branded? These questions have answers that will most likely never be known to historians and researchers today.

³⁶ Trois Negres, l'un créole, nommé Antoine, âgé d'environ 25 ans...

³⁷ The Tribe of Mondongue refers to the West African region, particularly Cameroon and Chad

Branding

The most common place that masters branded runaway slaves was on their wrists. There did not appear to be a preference between branding the right or left wrist, and it was not uncommon for slaves to have both wrists branded. When both wrists were branded, sometimes the marks differed, signifying previous ownership, but sometimes both wrists carried the same brand. Other places where branding occurred included: the back of the neck, shoulders, the collarbone or chest area, the cheeks of the face, the stomach area and the buttocks.

Since branding signified ownership, when a slave was sold to a new owner, it was not out of the ordinary for a master to place his brand directly over that of the previous owner. This resulted in dozens of ads where it states that the brand is illegible even though it notes the names branded on the slave. In one instance, the author of the ad recognizes how convoluted having multiple names is, stating each last name MENTION THEM followed by, “and still on top of that branded with...”³⁸.

One extreme case of branding appears on a slave who ran away in 1777³⁹. This unnamed slave was branded on both wrists as well as both shoulders with his master’s name of “CLEMANSON”. Some slaves with multiple brands had his owner’s name in addition to the Fleur de Lys symbol.

Fleur de Lys

In the Code Noir, the French government gives owners “permission” to brand their workers with the Fleur de Lys symbol if they remain a runaway for over a month. In spite of this,

³⁸ Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Lire les sources. (n.d.). Retrieved November 16, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/fr/lire.php>
2 avril 1774 | parution no. 13 | page #156 | annonce #5

³⁹ Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Lire les sources. (n.d.). Retrieved November 16, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/fr/lire.php>
9 août 1777 | page #384 | annonce #4

few masters decided to brand the symbol on their slaves. It may have been because those referenced in the runaway notices had never run away before, but there is no way to be certain. Out of over 12, 000 entries, a mere six include the Fleur de Lys. This statistic demonstrates how little masters followed the Code Noir.

Mutilation *By Masters*

The one case where “incision” was used not in reference to traditional African markings references particular language used to describe the markings of a slave named Bazin. The ad makes it clear that the runaway has, “two or three incisions as a result of being hit across the face”⁴⁰. This slave was listed with another slave (named Adonis), both young (24 and 17 years old) and of Congolese origin. Both slaves belonged to the same master, “sieur Jugnac Lamarche,” who was the caretaker of a dyke located on the island. Despite belonging to the same master, they each had a different name branded on their wrists. Apart from the odd brandings, this ad is unique in that the master believes someone may have absconded with the slaves in an attempt to resell them.

Once again, there exist a slew of questions that will most likely never be answered: How did the master know this information? Why were the slaves not marked with the same brand? Why was Bazin hit across the face and why did the master see it as important to include the origins of the markings? Despite the number of questions it raises, this notice speaks to the portrait of the owner. His decision not to brand the two men with the same name may indicate that he did not believe they would ever run away. His writing on the potential whereabouts of the

⁴⁰ Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Lire les sources. (n.d.). Retrieved November 25, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/fr/lire.php>
30 mai 1780 | parution no. 22 | page #173 | annonce #12

men fleeing, suggests he was either well connected and had access to exclusive information or had previous experience with someone stealing his slaves.

Another example of owner cruelty appears in descriptions of mutilation. Thirty-eight ads mentioned a foot or ear that had been cut, but it was not clear whether they had been cut completely or partially. There is one ad that is very clear to state that the runaway had his entire arm cut off and that he, along with four other slaves who had run away separately before apparently meeting up together. The master made it clear that the limb had been intentionally severed as a punishment for “bad behavior”. Furthermore, the author of this notice believes he has information as to the whereabouts of the runaway, stating he “had learned” that the escapees met up. He does not give any indication as to how he garnered this information⁴¹.

Because the owner specifies that they ran away from their respective sugar plantations prior to meeting up, we know that they were most likely field workers. Three of the slaves were branded on their right wrist, and there is no indication as to if the other two are branded. The ad also states that the slaves caused, “a big disruption” and that anyone who attempts to catch them should be careful. Yet it also has explicit instructions on where to bring them and a payment amount. It is curious that this ad includes slaves that did not run away together however are assumed to have met up, and it is not clear which master placed this notice or how the masters are communicating with each other.

This advertisement is also unusual in that it does not contain all of the prototypical elements that appear in other ads—for example it does not give ages, physical descriptors (apart

⁴¹ Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Lire les sources. (n.d.). Retrieved November 16, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/fr/lire.php>
30 mai 1780 | parution no. 22 | page #173 | annonce #12

from the missing arm), or heights for the runaways. We can determine that they were all male based on their names, however outside of their gender and their lack of branding, there is little that is known.

African Customs & Self-Mutilation

The search terms “marked” and “pierced” were not as helpful in identify signs of cruelty; they did however, speak to slaves heritage in part because of intentional piercings and facial scarring. Those references came up with dozens of cases where the master was using markings and scarring from the slave’s tribal homeland to identify him or her. When it was traditional scarring, it was typically on the slave’s face. Another term that curated noted customary tribal facial markings was “incisions”. Outside of one case, the term was always in reference to marks that are “from their country”, prior to being forced into slavery. Due to the widespread nature of customary mutilation, in certain notices where the runaway was listed as African, masters would clearly identify if they lacked facial scarring. This happening may speak to the knowledge of masters or “bounty hunters” in regards to the commonalities between those from Africa. It shows that if a nation of origin was listed, bounty hunters may expect to find particular traces of an escapee’s homeland evident on his face.

Neglect ***Missing Body Parts***

The most common body part to be missing was a finger. Again, since very few of the ads specify how the body part was lost, it may have been while working. This is also telling, as it shows workers were either required to go so fast that they lost fingers, or they were most likely not properly explained taught how to cut the sugar cane in a way that avoided injury. In addition

to missing fingers, toenails and fingernails were another common missing part. An advertisement rarely stated the cause of the missing nails, and when masters did mention a reason it was almost always due to sand fleas.

Bugs & Abscessing/Sores

Sand fleas were widespread and when left untreated, could become infected⁴². Of the runaway notices mentioning sores or abscesses, usually there was not a reason given, however when a reason was present it was always “from sand fleas”. It is not clear whether they were all sand fleas or just the result of bug bites, as owners used the term “sand flea” or “bug” interchangeably. Another possible cause of sores was the result of constantly being in the field, where sharp sugar cane blades could cut workers, and when not properly cared for, turned into infected sores. Masters could have prevented this problem simply by giving slaves shoes, but they rarely chose to invest in this low cost solution.

It is sometimes unclear whether burns or missing fingers were the result of intentional cruelty, there are clear signs of neglect. Several ads note incidents where a slave has lost a finger or toe due to abscess. Another common reason for missing body parts, such as fingertips was sand fleas that could bite off the ends of fingertips in a severe enough infestation. Often time amputations occurred as the result of advanced cases of sand flea and other parasite infestations or as the result of abscesses⁴³. Six ads specified that the finger or toe had been lost due to an

⁴² Sand Fly Bites, Treatment, Pictures, Symptoms, Healing ... (n.d.). Retrieved December 1, 2016, from <http://www.lightskincure.org/insect-bites/sand-fly-bites-treatment-pictures-healing-time/&p=DevEx,5046.1>

⁴³ The Caribbean Slave: A Biological History By Kenneth F. Kiple

abscess and several ads reference that a slave is lame or has trouble walking due to an abscess. These excessive infections can be seen as an indicator of poor living conditions or lack of care.

Accidents *On the Job/Sugar Cane*

It is unclear whether certain disfigurements were accidents due to the dangerous nature of sugar harvesting⁴⁴ or due to intentional harm⁴⁵. There are only four ads that list burns or missing fingers as accidental⁴⁶. Unlike the ads in which slaves can read and their occupation is specified, very few of the slaves identified by signs of cruelty had specialized jobs. If a slave did not have a specialized job such as valet, wig maker, mid wife (to name a few) they most likely worked in the sugar fields.

The dangerous nature of working with sugar cane could lead to severe injuries during the cutting stage as well as the processing stage. The fields were set on fire prior to harvesting to make the cutting easier, however extremely sharp machetes were still used to cut down the sugar cane. This may be one possible explanation for the number of burns and “cuts by machete”. Next the sugar cane was boiled at very hot temperatures during the refining stage, another time when slaves may have been accidentally burned.

The search word, which turned up the highest number of hits, was “burn”. This must be considered within the context of the work that was being done. Similar to the mention above of slaves losing fingers during the cutting of the sugar cane, it would not be unusual for a slave to

⁴⁴ Processing sugar cane was an involved process. First the stalks were cut, before being crushed to extract the juice. Next, the juice was boiled down to a syrupy consistency before workers left it to evaporate.

⁴⁵ Sugar Crushing Mill, 1700s. (n.d.). Retrieved December 1, 2016, from http://www.understandingslavery.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=635_sugar-crushing-mill&catid=146&Itemid=256.html

⁴⁶ While there are seven total ads, only 4 different slaves are mentioned, four of the ads are for the same slave.

be burned during the refining of the sugar cane. In total, there were a total of 210 ads that were rendered from search words using “burn”. The majority of the ads referred to burn marks that were present on the arms or hands, which creates more vagueness when trying to determine if the burns were intentional. The other common location for a burn mark was a slave’s cheek. This disfigurement was sometimes intentional, with the master stating the burn was in a specific shape or letter to mark ownership. In those cases, the burn was used in the same way a brand would be⁴⁷. In most cases it did not give a reason or particular shape for the burn, writing only, “having a burn on the right [or left] cheek”⁴⁸. Burns were not the only on the job hazard.

On the Job/Machete Cuts

Workers not only needed to burn the sugar cane, they also needed cut it, which they did using large machetes. The use of large, sharp blades inevitably led to accidents and injuries. Masters only identify their slaves by machete cuts or scars 40 times, and only in one incidence is it clear that the cut was intentional.

Of the ads with key terms that signify cruelty 142 were women and 703 were men. Compared to the overall ratio of advertisements of males to females, this breakdown of 17 percent women is relatively the same as the number of runaway notices placed about each respective gender.

⁴⁷ Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Lire les sources. (n.d.). Retrieved November 16, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/fr/lire.php>

8 octobre 1766 | parution no. 41 | page #352 | annonce #4

⁴⁸Original text: “ayant une brûlure à la joue droite”

Education

The Code Noir, an edict decreed by King Louis XIV in 1685, among other things said that slaves needed to be educated in religion⁴⁹. In the database of runaway slave ads, there are no references to religion and very little mention of education in general. This is of note, because it shows that plantation owners did not necessarily abide by the laws set forth in the mandate, and shows their unwillingness to provide even a minimal religious education. With this in mind, it makes the occurrences of educated slaves even more remarkable.

Nonetheless, due to the lack of education given to slaves, one way in which masters identified their runaway slaves was to list whether or not they can read and write. Of the over 12,000 ads, only 35 listed reading and 35 listed writing as skills the slaves possessed. The separation of reading and writing as unique search terms is merely the result of differences in verbiage by ad writers. There was significant overlap between the slaves who could read and those who could write. We can assume that slaves who knew how to write could also read.

Literacy

Literacy was gendered and those ads using words like “writing”, “reading” and “intelligent” all referred to males. This is not surprising, given that it was unusual enough for a slave to read, and during the 18th century, education for women of any color whether free slave was very limited⁵⁰. These men were typically skilled, with masters writing lengthy and descriptive paragraphs when trying to identify them.

⁴⁹ The Code Noir (The Black Code). (n.d.). Retrieved September 01, 2016, from <https://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/335/>

⁵⁰ Meyer, Jean, Jean Tarrade, Annie Rey-Goldzeiguer, and Jacques Thobie. *Histoire De La France Coloniale: Des Origines à 1914*. Paris: A. Colin, 1991. Print.

For instance, a bulletin placed in 1784 goes into a detailed physical portrait of a man named Silvain, escaping bondage⁵¹. Particularly striking is the fact that the owner is clear to say that the runaway is a mulatto by birth but looks like a griffe due to his tanned skin⁵². A mulatto was defined as half-black and half-white, while a griffe was three quarters black and one quarter white. It seems odd that if the slave looks like a “griffe” that the ad writer would take the time or space to make it known that he was actually a mulatto, that is unless Silvain was the master’s son and he wanted to make it clear he was half white. This theory is mere speculation, but certain aspects do point to the possibility of it having some truth. Silvain’s age, 17-18 years old, means that he had an education of some kind while young, which would be unusual (let alone being educated) unless he was given special privilege. He is described as having good French, literate and a saddler by profession⁵³. There is also a reward of five Portugaises⁵⁴, which is out of the ordinary; most masters list “there will be a reward” but few list an exact monetary amount. All of this is to say that those who were literate were paid special attention. While those who could read or write were given lengthy descriptions, their literacy was a rarity nonetheless. Another rarity was the use of positive descriptors to identify those fleeing bondage.

One such example is the use of, “intelligent”. There are seven ads that do use the word as a beneficial characteristic of the slave’s personality. In the runaway ads, none of the ads that refer to reading and writing (how masters identified the education level of slaves) include the word “intelligent”. This is interesting because it means that the “intelligence” that the masters

⁵¹ Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Lire les sources. (n.d.). Retrieved November 16, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/fr/lire.php>

3 novembre 1784 | parution no. 44 | page #716 | annonce #5

⁵² Original text: “...la peau si rembrunie, qu'il est pris plutôt pour un griffe que pour un mulâtre...”

⁵³ Original text: “... Sellier de profession, parlant bon français, sachant lire & écrire...”

⁵⁴ This was one of the many currencies used in the Caribbean

characterize is not one related to scholarly intelligence. Instead, it may have been referring to a slave's ability to quickly learn new tasks, their quick wit, or even cunningly deceptive behavior that may have helped facilitate their escape.

Of the seven advertisements that use the word “intelligent”, three of the ads are for the same person. Taking this into account, there are five unique slaves that were described as intelligent. Of these five, all but one man was branded. The one slave without a brand is given the shortest description with the least identifying elements. It is the only listing of those in this grouping that does not ask for him to be stopped on the spot. Instead it says, “...those who find him are advised not to stop and to instead give word to M. Costard on his property...”⁵⁵

It is also interesting to note the racial descriptions of those listed as intelligent: two men of African descent, one simply identified as black and two said to be creole with one specifying the department in Haiti where he hails from (Artibonite). Early on in slave societies, there were negative connotations associated with darker skin color⁵⁶. Masters saw creoles and slaves with lighter skin as more capable individuals, or were higher in society and less brutish. With this in mind, the use of intelligent as an identifier for African slaves is in contradiction to previous beliefs on masters' views of their slaves. Since it is such a small sampling with only seven ads to reference, it is hard to determine if this theme is a reflection of the masters who posted the ads or possibly a bigger theme of slave masters recognizing individuals they deemed intelligent regardless of how dark their skin may have been.

⁵⁵ Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Lire les sources. (n.d.). Retrieved November 16, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/fr/lire.php>
1 janvier 1777 | page #8 | annonce #6

⁵⁶ Silencing the Past, Trouillot

It is important to remember that with the database used to collect the data references for these findings, search terms can sometimes procure irrelevant results. For instance, there were a couple of ads in this query that were only using the word “read” in reference to not being able to read a brand. When the word was used to describe a brand, it was usually in the context of illegibility. For example, one runaway notice stated that, “...branded on both wrists...the letters are crossed making it difficult to clearly read the brands”⁵⁷⁵⁸. While it is interesting that the masters included illegible brands in their characterization of those fleeing, the section of this paper that will cover the topic more extensively is signs of cruelty.

Language

Under the realm of education as an identifying characteristic, the most common attribute was a linguistic one. Far beyond literacy and musical skill, fluency of various languages was re-occurring. There were five main languages listed by masters that slaves spoke: French, English, Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch. This seems logical as Haiti shared waters with colonies controlled by countries whose mother tongue was one of the five preceding languages.

French was the most commonly listed language among the runaway notices, which makes sense considering it was what was spoken in Haiti and considering the ads were in a French periodical. Slightly more than 600 runaway notices mention French as a slave’s vernacular. This would be, at most, only one half of one percent of the total advertisements. Therefore, since more than 0.05% of the slaves most certainly spoke French, masters most likely

⁵⁷ Original text: “...étampé sur les deux seins...les lettres ont formé une excroissance de chair qui empêche de bien lire les étampes...”

⁵⁸ Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Lire les sources. (n.d.). Retrieved November 23, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/fr/lire.php>
3 novembre 1778 | parution no. 43 | page #0 | annonce #1

assumed that if they did not include a linguistic distinction, readers would deduce that the runaway was communicating in the colony's tongue. In the cases where French was explicitly noted, often times owners modified it with "good" showing increased mastery of the language beyond being able to converse. This elevated knowledge of the language may have come from a variety of places; several times when it said spoke French well, it specified that they had spent time in France. Other times it mentioned that the individual was a merchant, suggesting that he would need substantial language skills to interact with buyers. Not all of the languages listed necessarily had a straightforward "use".

Behind French, English was the second most popular language. Runaway advertisements citing the ability to speak English varied in the supporting details it provided. Certain postings simply said the slave spoke the language without mentioning their level of fluency or where they had learned it (sometimes put in the form of where the person in bondage was originally from). An exception to this orientation of vagueness was a case where the owner placed a detailed runaway notice three times for a slave from Jamaica⁵⁹. Télémaque, as the man is called, is said to speak "English and the ordinary language of the Blacks"⁶⁰. This is the first and only mention of this "ordinary language of Blacks". The posting does not elaborate on what it means with this phrase, and since it is only mentioned once it is unclear what that particular owner was referring to. It is possible that it was so well known among the colonists that it went without saying that an escapee spoke it, but there is no way to know conclusively what he meant.

⁵⁹ Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Lire les sources. (n.d.). Retrieved November 23, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/fr/lire.php>
4 avril 1780 | parution no. 14 | page #101 | annonce #5

⁶⁰ Original text: "le langage ordinaire des Nègres"

Jamaica itself is mentioned 46 times in various postings, sometimes in the phrase, “creole of Jamaica”⁶¹, but English is only put as a language spoken ten times. Presumably anyone originally from Jamaica would have spoken the language of the colony, so this presumption could account for the discrepancy between those from Jamaica and those listed as speaking English. In one case, a slave was described as only knowing English, and not a word of French⁶². While the master did not specify why the Senegalese man spoke only English, one possibility was that he was a new arrival and had not yet learned French. At the time the ad was placed, he had only been missing ten days, and so given the short time he had been missing would have been wholly possible that he had recently arrived in the colony. The arrival of slaves from colonies outside of the Francophone world shows itself further in other language use.

English and French may have been the most widely spoken, however references to Dutch and Spanish can give us unique insight into the world of contraband slave trade. Those who spoke Dutch or Spanish may have been illegally traded from neighboring colonies. The French government kept tight control on all of the colony’s trade with others, so the appearance of outside language skill demonstrates that smuggling of goods and people from outside colonies did occur. Runaways who spoke one of these two languages numbered over 100 men, suggesting that it was not an anomaly since those who fled account for only a fraction of the entire slave population. This control of slave trade by the French government does seem to have been successful in one group of colonies: those controlled by Portugal.

Portuguese only appeared three times, making it the least cited language. The reason for this is not clear, and due to the small sample size, the analysis regarding Portuguese is less

⁶¹ Original text: “Créole de la Jamaïque...”

⁶² Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Lire les sources. (n.d.). Retrieved November 18, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/fr/lire.php>
16 juin 1770 | parution no. 24 | page #280 | annonce #3

prolific. What is known is that all three of the men who knew Portuguese were African. One runaway is characterized as speaking “little” Portuguese, having sores on his feet and a machete cut on his left arm⁶³. The presence of physical abuse distinguishes him from the prototypical portrait of the “educated runaway”. Another way that the Lusophone man is atypical is that he speaks both Portuguese and Spanish. While uncommon, other slaves are mentioned as knowing multiple languages. The pairing that occurred most often was the knowledge of both French and Spanish, sometimes attributed to the shared colonial border on the island of Hispaniola.

It is difficult to get a precise number for the amount of escapees who were bi or tri-lingual, but it is clear that it did happen. The two languages most often linked were French and Spanish. Sometimes this was attributed to a slave having spent time “on the Spanish side” of the island. The ability to speak both languages also meant that masters believed the runaways would attempt to find asylum on the other side of the island since they would more easily be able to assimilate using their language abilities.

One interesting case of bilingualism was a 14-year-old boy who the master listed as being from Grenada⁶⁴. He is described as speaking both English and French, yet the ad was placed in 1782, after the island had been turned over to British control. It is unclear how the boy learned both languages. Since he was born a mere five years after the end of the Seven Years War⁶⁵, it is very possible that the master was still French, yet affairs were carried out in English, consequently

⁶³ Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Lire les sources. (n.d.). Retrieved November 18, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/fr/lire.php>
31 mars 1770 | parution no. 13 | page #156 | annonce #2

Original text: “parlant un peu portugais... avec des crabes au dessous des pieds, ayant reçu un coup de machette au bras gauche...”

⁶⁴ Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Lire les sources. (n.d.). Retrieved November 18, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/fr/lire.php>
23 mars 1782 | page #112 | annonce #2

⁶⁵ This was the war that decided the control of Grenada, lasting from 1756-1763. France was forced to cede control to Britain following their defeat.

resulting in the boy speaking both languages. This example of a bilingual 14-year-old shows the wide variety of runaway cases listed in the advertisements.

Unlike literacy, the trends in language skill were less clear-cut. The age range was much broader, however the median age hovered around 30 years old. The broad age range could illustrate that this identifier was not one that was taught, but rather acquired by those in bondage based on their experiences and where they had previously resided. Had this been a taught skill, there may have been a trend towards a younger median, showing that the linguistic savvy was the result of a formal education at a young age. One trend that does follow the other educational markers is the gender gap. Of those who masters identified with a language, only ten percent were women. This represents half of the women as a whole, meaning that masters were more likely to attach a linguistic description when describing female runaways versus males. Again, the reason owners made this decision may never be clear, however it is interesting to note an identifying marker with a gender reversal of incidents.

Musical Knowledge

During the course of researching the education of slaves, one unexpected search term appeared as informative: “violin”. Surprisingly, 38 ads included information regarding the musical abilities of the runaway slaves. While the violin was the instrument most commonly referenced, there were three references to the mandolin and one instance where the man could play the clarinet. All of those listed as being able to play an instrument were men. In this grouping of 33, about 70 percent had a specific occupation or skill set. This is a much higher incidence of specialized knowledge than the database as a whole. The correlation between various distinguishing elements is consistent across the body of runaway bulletins as a whole. The correlation is a positive one, meaning the presence of one distinctive trait, more often than

not, means the presence of another distinctive trait. Similar to the way reading and writing seemed to accompany a slave also having a specific skill set or occupation, having the knowledge to play the violin seems to accompany the ability to read or write. Their shared commonalities were not the only thing tying these musicians together.

Barring a few outliers, there was a consistent age and racial makeup for these instrumentalists. Most of the men range in age from 20 years old to 27 years old. Most of the men are listed as creole, with ten listed as Congolese and a few described as coming from other colonies (such as a Portuguese colony or the colony of Curacao). The young age of most of them, in conjunction with the fact that the majority of them were creole, suggests that they may have learned to play the violin from the same plantation masters that are trying to retrieve them. So few of those in bondage played an instrument that it is unlikely that these players learned from fellow slaves.

Apart from listing their skill as violinists, most of these ads provide significant detail as to the age, height, occupation and physical characteristics of these slaves. In addition to being particularly descriptive, every one of these ads has the name of the slave listed. This is in contrast to the ads where whip marks and signs of cruelty are listed, half of which do not have names listed.

The added level of detail may point to clues about the masters. If they included information above and beyond the information they used when trying to track down of slaves fleeing bondage, they probably had a greater desire to have these selected men returned to them. The men's musical talents most could have increased both their monetary value as well as a more personal value bestowed upon them by the owners.

A secondary phenomenon that speaks to the non-capital based value of an escapee is the number of times an advertisement had been placed. Of those 38 hits with the word “violin”, masters had placed six of them multiple times for the same slaves: four for one slave and two for the other⁶⁶.

One owner placed a notice multiple times for a man with two disfigured fingers, and despite this still plays the violin. All four ads are placed within the same year (1790), with the first ad placed two months after he was last seen. Included in each ad is a note on where the slave may be and that the slave may have been sold. Each ad also emphasizes that the person who finds him will be, “very well compensated”. Most of these re-occurring runaway bulletins were for educated slaves. Did they have a stronger yearning for freedom, prompting them to attempt to flee more often? Or did the masters have a greater connection to them and therefore were more adamant about getting them back? These questions may never find answers, however a few elements related to the education of these men are clear.

⁶⁶ Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Lire les sources. (n.d.). Retrieved November 18, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/fr/lire.php>
23 mars 1782 | page #112 | annonce #2

Part VI: Outliers

Several key indices in identifying those escaping bondage suggest that certain elements were used to identify slaves. These identifiers include the four categories previously mentioned. This did not, however, mean that advertisements exclusively addressed those four markers. The following section of this paper will concern itself with outliers; the traits not as commonly mentioned yet interesting and informative nonetheless. In this section I will address runaways listed as being of Indian descent, peculiar physical differences, women carrying children, and other unique background information included in outlier advertisements.

“Indians”

When masters use the word “Indian”, it was not always to refer to the race of the runaway. The term curated 67 hits, however only 36 are about the person being of Indian descent. The other results refer to clothing made in, “the Indian style,” or a slave’s skin being, “red like an Indian”⁶⁷. In the small grouping of those said to be Indian, very few say where they are from originally and whether they mean American Indians or East Indians. One of the only ads that gives a country of origin is from 1779, and in it the master is looking for a slave named Michel who has been missing for three weeks⁶⁸. Michel is listed as an Indian from Maritius (known as isle of France⁶⁹ at the time) with an illegible brand. The ad is unusual in that it does

⁶⁷ The clothing items referenced include skirts and hats; In their original French: “Une jupe d’indienne”, “un bonnet d’indienne” and “une casque d’indienne”

⁶⁸ Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Lire les sources. (n.d.). Retrieved November 18, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/fr/lire.php>
10 août 1779 | page #0 | annonce #6

⁶⁹ Original text:: “Indien de l’Isle de France”

not list an age or height for him. It seems to have included certain elements, but at the same time left out key descriptions that could be used to identify the runaway.

For all of the instances in which masters use the term Indian, it appears they have followed this same pattern of including very specific details and omitting seemingly key information such as age and height. Another case in which the owner was very particular to describe select characteristics such as, “wide nostrils, recently cut hair and skinny legs,” but chose not to include a relative height or other overall physical descriptors. One consistency among the owner’s language is the profile of their hair. The majority of the 36 notices include a description of the individual’s hair as long, black, straight or in braids.

Physical Differences

While masters often used physical characteristics such as size, and distinctive scarring to single out certain slaves, there are a few particularly unique cases of physical variations, which, while not common enough to be included in the main analysis, elicit further attention in this outlier section.

One of the most surprising results was masters who were looking for a slave with a wooden leg. There are two separate occasions of this occurring, with one of the two listed twice, for a total of three hits on the search term, “wooden leg”. The owner who placed the ad twice gave very few details except that the man, named Pierrot-Brulé, was 40 years old, one-eyed and had a wooden leg⁷⁰. It is likely that the author believed one eye and a wooden leg would be

⁷⁰ Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Lire les sources. (n.d.). Retrieved November 18, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/fr/lire.php>
19 février 1766 | parution no. 8 | page #76 | annonce #1

unique enough that further information would have been unnecessary. The first time the owner placed the notice, Pierrot-Brulé had only been missing for three weeks, while the second was placed six years later. It is striking that the master continued to look for the runaway six years after his initial flight considering his age, his missing eye and considering he was short a leg. Financially speaking, it appears that he would not be of much value as a one-eyed, one-legged 46-year-old laborer. This suggests that the man's value to the owner was not a monetary one, and without an occupation listed, it is difficult to establish why he deemed him particularly valuable.

The second listing searching for a slave with a wooden leg does include an occupation. The master states that the man, Urbain, was, "a good coachmen," who had been missing for one month⁷¹. Little information is given outside of his name, occupation and wooden leg. Similar to the previous master discussed, this owner most likely thought that a one legged coachman was unique enough to be identifiable without further description.

While there are very few men identified by a wooden leg, other outliers saw more entries. No one is listed as blind, but about fifty entries include one-eyed slaves. There are no women in this category and the men included are almost exclusively over 35 years old. This distinctive age pattern suggests that the slaves were not born with just one eye, but rather lost it due to an accident. None of the advertisements offer reasoning for the compromised vision so it is unclear whether the loss occurred from disease, an on the job accident or intentional abuse.

Another instance where the cause of the label is not clear is when a master refers to the slave as deaf. This only comes up six times, typically preceded by, "a little" and with mixed gender results. There is only one case where the master identifies the runaway as completely

⁷¹ Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Lire les sources. (n.d.). Retrieved November 18, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/fr/lire.php>
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deaf, and the advertisement is published two times. The owner calls the man fleeing bondage Romain, and states that he does not have a brand. This runaway notice is also unique in that it states that there will be a reward for the person who brings him back or indicates where Romain is hiding⁷².

Women with Children

The majority of the people fleeing bondage were single adult males, but there was a minority of runaways that did not fit this category. There are 24 ads that say the woman had a child “on the breast”⁷³. In some of these, the master says how old the child was, but more often than not, it is unspecified. Another disheartening group of runaway notices is those where the master is looking for a pregnant woman. Often times women listed as pregnant or with an infant had brought along any other children they may have had.

Unique Background Information

An ad posted in 1790 specified that the runaway had never been whipped⁷⁴. This is of note because the fact that they had never been whipped did not necessarily provide additional information that would lead to their capture. The ad contained information on four runaways, all women, three of whom were related. It is of note that while the mother of two of the runaways left with two of her children, the ad also states that she left her two youngest children behind (fourteen and three years old), her grandmother, and her brother. This ad is particularly

⁷² Original text: “il y aura récompense pour celui qui le ramènera, ou qui indiquera le lieu où il s'est retiré...”

⁷³ Original text: “à la mamelle”

⁷⁴ Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Lire les sources. (n.d.). Retrieved November 18, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/fr/lire.php>
21 octobre 1790 | parution no. 84 | page #542 | annonce #7

descriptive in regards to the family of the runaway and it is the first ad that specifies how the slave was treated independent of information that could be used to identify the slave. We can only speculate on why the master would have included this information, however it may have been deliberate due to some connection with the runaways since it does not necessarily help identify the women.

There is a similar case of a master including background information that does not serve to identify a slave, but rather just gives insight into his past. In this instance, the master is looking for a woman named Zebet who is of creole descent from Guadeloupe⁷⁵, with the ability to speak both French and Spanish well, having been raised in France⁷⁶. What is unique is that the owner says she is from the Caribbean, yet grew up in France; he does not give further detail on why that is, however it is possible to consider where this background information came from.

One possibility is that he bought Zebet in Guadeloupe before he brought her to France as a young girl with him and now after returning to the Caribbean (this time on the island of Haiti) she has fled bondage. Once again, the knowledge that she was raised in France will most likely not aid in identifying her, and still the master found it useful to include. Maybe he wanted readers to know the long history he holds with Zebet. Maybe he wanted to provide justification on a woman having superior language skills. In any case, this is just one more scenario that raises countless questions that may never be answered.

⁷⁵ Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Lire les sources. (n.d.). Retrieved November 18, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/fr/lire.php>
4 octobre 1769 | parution no. 40 | page #376 | annonce #3

⁷⁶ The ad states that Zebet speaks French and Spanish well, having been raised in France: “parlant bon français & espagnol, ayant été élevée en France”

Geographic Uniqueness

While the majority of the slaves seem to have run away on the island of Haiti, there were ads in which the runaways are from other French islands. There were two ads that were searching for a “...creole from Guadeloupe...”⁷⁷. There was also an ad that was looking for a slave who was “...creole of Grenada” and a “creole from Martinique...”. So it is of note, that while this newspaper was printed in Haiti and circulated almost exclusively there, masters from other colonies were having ads printed in *Les Affiches Américaines*.

This could have been for a multitude of reasons. *Les Affiches Américaines* was the biggest and only paper with a standard printing schedule. Also, several ads reference slaves that were believed to have left on a boat, and many of the ads that do so, identify the slaves as possibly being headed towards Haiti, “we think that he boarded a Goëlette, boat or some other form of small embarkation headed for the coast...”⁷⁸. While this ad specifies where the slave may have been headed, it is not always clear—at times ads simply speculate that they are thought to have boarded a boat.

Re-Runs

There were a number of ads which were re-run either because the slave had run away again or because he was never caught after the initial ad was run. One example is Charles (Masuline). Charles was about 26 years old the first time the ad ran, and had already been gone for three and a half years. The ad was re-run three times over the span of four years and each

⁷⁷ Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Lire les sources. (n.d.). Retrieved November 18, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/fr/lire.php>
4 octobre 1769 | parution no. 40 | page #376 | annonce #3

⁷⁸ Original Text: “...on le croit embarqué dans quelque Goëlette, Bateau, ou autre petite embarcation pour la Côte...”.

time the ad ran the reward amount increased. This slave had some particular value to the master, as there are other incidents of repeat listings of ads however they do not specify an increase in reward amount.

Charles was not the only slave who had a master eager for his return, proving so by the re-running of an ad. An owner posted at least three notices for the same slave, identified as Adrien an African from the tribe Arada. The ads listed for him are spread out over a period of eight years. When this happens, it signifies one of two things: either the master valued and had a particular attachment to the runaway, or alternatively the person may have escaped bondage multiple times. It is unclear whether Adrien fled on three different occasions or just two. Two of the three ads specify when he ran away, and they are in separate months on different days, however the first ad posted in 1772 does not say when Adrien ran away. The ads, posted in 1772, 1778 and 1780 are separated by six and two years, respectively. The description of Adrien is almost identical, with just minor differences in the order of identifying elements. In all three, Adrien is described as being, “a good valet, wigmaker and coachman” as well as being able to pass as creole. This is of note, because even after he had already run away once, the master still felt he was valuable enough to allow him to continue in a position of responsibility and relatively more freedom than a field hand, with his role as a coachman and valet.

Another case of an advertisement being re-run incorporates a separate outlying element. One master ran an entry several times in an attempt to retrieve a slave he had baptized. While the Code Noir specified that slaves were to be baptized as Christians, masters rarely took the time to do so. Fittingly, very few runaways are mentioned as having been baptized—only two to be exact. One of those two was for Emeric (baptized as Jean-Pierre), and for three weeks in a row, his master ran a very physically descriptive ad that was sure to include that he had been

baptized⁷⁹. There may have been other slaves who had been baptized, but only Jean-Pierre's owner and one other owner make mention of it. The other masters may have found it to be extraneous information, so it is notable that it was included in this case of an ad being re-run.

These outliers illustrate the uniqueness of each slave's story and the diverse motivations of masters. Many of the men and women in this section do not hold the same monetary value as other slaves mentioned in this paper, yet owners still went through the trouble of writing and placing an ad in an attempt to retrieve them.

⁷⁹ Le marronnage à Saint-Domingue (Haïti) : Lire les sources. (n.d.). Retrieved November 18, 2016, from <http://www.marronnage.info/fr/lire.php>
13 avril 1776 | parution no. 15 | page #180 | annonce #2

Part VII: Conclusion

The conclusion of this paper should be far from the end of a discussion on these runaway advertisements. The analysis of physical abuse, education and outliers can give us a glimpse into the portrait of runaway slaves, however this analysis focused on only 2,000 out of the 12,000 advertisements in the online database. The other 10,000 listings most certainly have equally rich information to be explored.

Through this analysis, I found that while being skilled in a certain occupation made a slave less likely to get abused, it did not shield them completely from physical violence. Abuse ranged from being listed as intentional, such as a master stating he had recently whipped the slave for misbehaving, to more vague and less clear on whether it was purposely inflicted or simply a result of neglect. Cases of abuse or injury, no matter how severe, did not impede escape. Masters listed accounts of slaves who had such severe injuries that they could barely walk. Another interesting finding among the data on physical harm descriptors is the lack of trend in those who were branded. It does not appear that unskilled laborers were more likely to be branded, or that one gender was branded more than another. The placements of brands typically were put in a similar spot such as wrists and shoulders, but there was no given reasoning for choosing one location over another. The presence of a brand, no matter where it was, did not seem to deter those in bondage from attempting to escape. Not only did slaves who had been branded run away, but also individuals wearing chains tried to flee. There are cases of men with their ankles chained together, those sporting painful metal collars and even instances of men chained to each other running away.

This analysis also looked into educational factors in those who ran away. The biggest difference between those listed as having some sort of education and those without one was the level of detail used in the description. If a man was said to be literate, a master included a more detailed description of physical and other descriptors. The study of educated slaves running away shows us that despite having relative positions of privilege, these individuals still fled. It shows that for some, nothing, no matter how “well” they were taken care of, would ever make being treated as less than human acceptable to them.

More than anything, the wide range of descriptions used and range of individuals’ masters looked for shows the intangible value owners put on their slaves. It was not solely the young, strong, skilled, male slave that was sought out. Masters were searching for those who had particular personal value to them. The case of the one-eyed man with a wooden leg exemplifies the personal over monetary worth of escapees to their owners.

Moving forward, the Marronage database alone provides enough data and potential research questions for decades of exploration. While this paper examined a select few aspects of the runaway ads, there are many more indices buried within the runaway notices that can be used. Details such as which African tribe or nation they were from, the gender of the master looking for them, and tools brought with them to help facilitate their fleeing are all elements that could be researched further. The insight that this source can give into the mind of a plantation owner is abundant, and as more variables are explored, a clearer picture of a master’s motivation will come to light.

It may be impossible to garner a conclusive answer as to why masters chose to describe their runaway slaves in a particular manner, but that should not stop scholars from continuing to flesh out the “how”. With each new viewpoint and analysis of this body of text, researchers further advance the field of study. If academics let the unknowns and unanswerable questions stand in the way of continued research in this topic, the stories of these brave individuals, willing to risk their life in the hopes of escaping bondage, along with a better understanding of masters’ motives, will forever remain in the shadows.

Appendices

Appendix A: Physical Abuse Search Term Table

Search Term	Hits
“coup de fouet” (strike of the whip)	10 results
“coups de fouets” (whip strikes)	8 results
“coups de fouet” (strikes of the whip)	76 results
“fouetté” (whipped)	3 results
“étampé sur les deux seins”	235 results
“étampés sur les deux seins”	6 results
“marqué”	
“Sans étampe”	1469 results
“Sans étampe” (Female)	415 results
“étampe” (Female)	1816 results
“fleur de lys” ⁸⁰	10 results
“étampe”	9447 results
“machette” (machete)	5 results
“coup de manchette”	26 results
“coups de manchette”	8 results
“coups de lancette”	1 result
“brûlure” (burn)	136 results
“brûlé” (burned)	68 results
“marque de brûlure” (burn mark)	6 results
“coupé” (cut)	226 results
“coupée” (cut)	72 results
“pied coupé” (foot cut off)	19 results
“Oreille coupé” (cut ear)	19 results
“Sans doigts” (without fingers)	1 result
“éstrophié” (crippled/mangled)	63 results
“collier de fer” (metal collar)	92 results
“chaîne de fer” (metal chain)	6 results
“nabot au cou”	4 results
“doigt de moins” (missing finger(s))	6 results
“doigt de manque” (missing finger(s))	2 results
“manquant un doigt” (missing finger(s))	7 results
“manquant un petit doigt” (missing toe)	3 results

⁸⁰ For this term I used multiple spelling variations and word construction to try and get the most complete picture possible

“fesse” (buttocks)	58 results
“fesses” (buttocks)	20 results
“cicatrice(s) sur le dos” (scars on the back)	6 results
“cicatrices sur le corps” (scars on the body)	6 results
“incision(s)” (incision)	6 results
“malingre” (ulcer/sore)	111 results

Appendix B: Education Search Term Table

Search Term	Hits
“écrire” (write)	35 results
“lire” (read)	35 results
“intelligent” (intelligent)	7 results
“violon” (violin)	38 results
“mandolin” (mandolin)	3 results
“Français” (French)	508 results
“Bon Francois” ⁸¹ (good French)	15 results
“Bon Français” (good French)	73 results
“Bien François” (good French)	16 results
“Bien François” (good French)	56 results
“Anglais” (English)	263 results
“Parlant Anglais”	44 results
“Parlant Anglois”	12 results
“Parler Anglois”	3 results
“Parler Anglais”	5 results
“Parlant Portugais” ⁸²	2 results
“Peu Portugais”	1 result
“Hollandois”	8 results
“Hollandais”	59 results
“Parlant Espagnol”	18 results
“Parler Espagnol”	2 results
“Langue”	37 results

⁸¹ Whether or not you include the cedilla (ç) in your search did not make a difference.

⁸² For Portuguese, because one form of currency was called the “Portugaise” if you use that as a search term in will encompass the Portuguese language as well as the money.

Appendix C: Occupation Search Term Table

Search Term	Hits
“Métier” (trade/profession)	418 results
“Métier” (Females only)	31 results
“ Son Métier”	348 results
Occupations in the House	
“Domestique” (servant)	56 results
“Cuisinier” (cook)	252 results
“Accoucheu(se/r)” (midwife)	9 results
“Servante” (servant)	9 results
“Nourrice” (nanny/wetnurse)	9 results
“Blanchisseuse” (laundrer)	49 results
“Confiseur” (confectioner)	29 results
Occupations in Transportation	
“Postillon” (coachman)	72 results
“Cocher” (coachman)	100 results
“Canotier” (Boater)	7 results
“Marin” (sailor)	113 results
Occupations in Artisanal Skill	
“Tapissier” (upholsterer)	26 results
“Cordonnier” (shoemaker)	57 results
“Sellier (saddler)	48 results
“Matelassier” (matressmaker)	10 results
“Perruquier” (wigmaker)	342 results
“Maquignon” (merchant)	15 results
“Charpentier” (carpenter)	318 results
“Tailleur” (Tailor)	183 results
Occupations in Craftsmanship	
“Menuisier” (Carpenter)	84 results
“Machoquier” (blacksmith)	18 results
“Tonnelier” (craftsman)	142 results
“Ferblantier” (metal worker)	11 results
“Maçon” (mason)	189 results


Appendix E: Outliers Search Term Table

Search Term	Hits
“Indien” (Indian)	67 hits
“Jambe de bois” (Wooden Leg)	3 hits
“borgne” ⁸³ (One-Eyed)	238 hits
“Sourd” (Deaf)	6 hits
“Ivrogne” (Drunkard)	6 hits
“Enfants” (Children)	11 hits
“Enceinte” (Pregnant)	31 hits

⁸³ The high number of hits on this search term is deceptive, as “borgne” not only referred to those with one-eye; it was also the name of a specific area of the island. Of these 238 results, only 1/5 talk about the runaway being short an eye.

[N° 1.]

AFFICHES AMÉRICAINES



Du Mercredi 7 Janvier 1784.

NEGRES MARONS.

Au Cap, est entré à la Geole le 28 décembre 1783, Jean-Louis, Congo, étampé sur le sein droit HENRIQUE & GARTIA, & au-dessous BIRET BRT, & sur le gauche illisiblement, âgé d'environ 25 ans, à M. Duzes, au Cap, arrêté au Cap; le même jour, un Negre nouveau, sans étampe, âgé d'environ 20 ans, moyenne taille, nation Congo, qui n'a sçu dire son nom ni celui de son Maître, arrêté au Bois-de-l'Anse; le 30, Lafortune, Mondongue, sans étampe, Jacob, Congo, sans étampe, tous deux esclaves de l'habitation Breda, arrêtés au Haut-du-Cap; le premier janvier 1784, Pedro, Negre Espagnol, sans étampe apparente, âgé d'environ 30 ans, taille de 5 pieds 3 pouces, ayant une hernie, qui a dit appartenir à M. Diego Laurenso, habitant à Saint Juan dans la partie Espagnole, arrêté au Cap; le 4, Jean-Baptiste, Congo, étampé sur les deux seins NOURRICE, âgé d'environ 25 ans, à Jacques, M. L. au Cap, arrêté au Cap; le même jour, Bayon, Congo, ayant sur le sein droit une étampe illisible, & sur le gauche CAZES ST MARC, ayant un collier de fer, âgé d'environ 26 ans, taille de 5 pieds 2 pouces, qui a dit appartenir à M. Cazes, à Saint-Marc, arrêté à la Fosslette.

ANIMAUX ÉPAVES.

Au Cap, le 30 décembre 1783, un Cheval poil baye, étampé illisiblement sur la croupe & sur la cuisse du montoir, arrêté à l'Hôpital des Peres; le même jour, un Cheval poil rouge, étampé à la cuisse du montoir J L, & sur la cuisse une étampe espagnole, ayant une étoile sur le front & un pied blanc, arrêté à

l'Hôpital des Peres; le 31, une mule poil brun, étampée illisiblement sur la cuisse du montoir, arrêtée à l'Accul; le premier janvier 1784, une Bourrique poil brun, étampée au col illisiblement, arrêtée au Morne du Cap; le 2, un Cheval poil brun, étampé à la cuisse du montoir CDV A, ayant une petite étoile sur le front, arrêté à l'Hôpital des Peres; le 3, une Jument poil rouen, étampée à la cuisse du montoir XVDC, & hors du montoir V, ayant une étoile sur le front, arrêtée à la Grand'Rivière; le 4, un Ane entier poil gris, sans étampe apparente, arrêté à l'Accul; le 4, une Bourrique poil gris, sans étampelisible, ayant l'oreille gauche coupée, arrêtée à la Petite-Anse.

S P E C T A C L E.

LES Comédiens du Cap donneront samedi prochain 10 du courant, au bénéfice de Madame Marfan, une représentation DES TROIS SULTANNES, ou SOLIMAN II, Comédie en vers & en trois actes, mêlée de chant de M. Fuvart. Une Scène nouvelle introduira, au moment de la Table, M. Durand, de la Musique du Roi, Pensionnaire du Grand-Opéra. Madame Marfan & lui char-teront chacun une Ariette nouvelle à Grand-Orchestre, de la composition de deux des plus grands Maîtres d'Italie. Entre les deux Ariettes, ils chanteront le superbe Duo, *amour, amour*, de M. Lebreton.

LES mêmes donneront aussi samedi 17 du courant, au bénéfice du Sieur Vall, une premiere représentation du ROI LEAR, Tragédie nouvelle de M. Ducis, tirée du Théâtre de Shakespear, célèbre Poète Anglois, jouée à Paris au mois de Février dernier. Peu de Tragédies au Théâtre François ont causé une sensation aussi grande; elle s'est soutenue avec le même éclat pendant vingt re-

Appendix G: Sample Runaway Advertisements

Below are three examples of the runaway slave advertisements clipped from *Les Affiches Américaines* newspaper. Underlined in red is the race and name of the slave. Underlined on purple are any markings they have and an occupation if one is listed. Blue underlines physical characteristics such as height and weight. The text underlined in green specifies where they fled from and how long they have been missing and finally underlined in yellow is who wishes to be notified if the runaway is found.

Une Griffe Créole, nommée Marie-Louise, étampée DENOUX, âgée de 16 à 17 ans, taille d'environ 4 pieds 8 pouces, est marone depuis environ trois semaines. Ceux qui la reconnoîtront, sont priés de la faire arrêter & d'en donner avis à M^de Denoux, Marchande de Modes, au coin de la rue Saint-Domingue & de la place d'Armes, au Cap.

Une Négresse Congo, âgée de 25 à 26 ans, trapue, fort noire, étampée sur le sein gauche HENAVT, est partie marone le 3 de ce mois. Ceux qui la reconnoîtront, sont priés de la faire arrêter & conduire chez le S^r Henault, à qui elle appartient, rue Saint-Domingue : il y aura récompense.

Un Mulâtre, nommé Ignacé, perru-
quier de son métier, âgé de 19 à 20
 ans, taille de 5 pieds 5 pouces, le
 corps mince, de jolie figure, petit nez,
 pieds longs, cheveux crépus & longs,
 ayant une cicatrice sur la main droite
 entre le pouce & l'index, & une autre
 sur le front qui le rend un peu chauve,
 est parti maron de la Martinique, & est
 passé à Saint-Domingue. Ce Mulâtre
 appartient à M. *Nicolas Decasse*, de-
 meurant à Saint-Pierre. Ceux qui le
 reconnoîtront, font priés de le faire
 arrêter, & d'en donner avis à M. Lav-
aud, Capitaine du Navire *le François*,
 de Bordeaux, rue S. Laurent, au Cap.



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Bibliography

Throughout the course of my research, before having a clear picture of my thesis question and how I would answer it, I consulted a significant number of resources. Below is a comprehensive list of books, articles and websites I used during my search for primary source material. This list includes not only historical studies, but also analyses of the aftermath of slavery in the French Caribbean 200 years later.

Barros, J. D., Diptee, A., & Trotman, D. V. (2006). *Beyond fragmentation: Perspectives on Caribbean history*. Princeton, NJ: M. Wiener.

This book focuses on the lenses through which history is told. This book was helpful for my awareness of the works currently out there and their prospective. Certain articles in the book also discuss the history itself while presenting the various views.

Bishop, M. L. (2013). *The political economy of Caribbean development* (International Political Economy Series). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Published in 2013, this book addresses the economic position of the Caribbean. Background on the region are provided to the extent needed for understand the current situation. Bishop focuses in on the small Eastern islands. The 2nd chapter of the book has a very digestible overview of the decolonization process of Martinique. In Part II of the book, Bishop extensively explores the political economy of four different islands: Martinique, Guadeloupe, St Lucia, and St Vincent. This source will be more useful towards the end of my thesis when I transition to looking at the status of Martinique today.

Burton, R. D. (1978). *Assimilation or independence?: Prospects for Martinique* (Vol. 13, Occasional Monograph Series). Montreal: Centre for Developing-Area Studies, McGill University.

While this book is short in length, coming in at just over sixty pages, its focus on Martinique's transition to a colony is insightful. The does a good job focusing on why Martinique fought to become a colony, but also discusses the repercussions of this assimilation. Burton addresses the continued movement for independence by certain political parties. I found this source useful to understand aspects outside of slavery that guided Martinique's decision to become a colony. The book is also helpful in my analysis of the differences between the islands post colonialism.

Crane, J. (1995). *Martinique* (Vol. 175, World Bibliographical Series). Oxford, England:

Clio Press.

This book is one long annotated bibliography of books about Martinique. The sources are somewhat dated, however they remain relevant. It is a good resource for preliminary information on anything related to Martinique, however because it is so general and attempts to cover so much, none of the sources it cites are very specific. She includes texts in both English and French. The authors review of each source is bias, however it does seem that she tries to remain as objective as possible when describing what each book is about. The most useful section of this book for me were the references on books about history. Crane included an array of sources on the emancipation of Martinique. The book also lists several useful sources on Martinique's transition to an official French region.

"Data: Haiti." *The World Bank*. The World Bank, n.d. Web. 13 July 2015.
<<http://data.worldbank.org/country/haiti>>.

The World Bank is an invaluable tool for data. They have very detailed records of various indexes that help quantify the health of an economy. Unfortunately because Martinique is a region of France, there is no data specific to it.

Dessalles, P., Forster, E., & Forster, R. (1996). *Sugar and slavery, family and race: The letters and diary of Pierre Dessalles, planter in Martinique, 1808-1856*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

This book is an abridged compilation of the letters and personal diary of Pierre Dessalles, a slaveholder in Martinique. The book is formatted in chronological order with a robust index. The introduction provides an analysis of the character of Pierre Dessalles as it is framed in his writing. This primary source provides the views of a slaveholder, and his perspective not only on slaves but on the actions of French politicians.

Dubois, L. (2004). *A colony of citizens: Revolution & slave emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787-1804*. Chapel Hill, NC: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press.

This book looks at the historical background of citizenship in Guadeloupe. Slaves gained their citizenship for four short years before slavery was re-instated. This book looks at factors that may have contributed to the temporary emancipation in Guadeloupe including the islands demographics, the French Revolution and slave movements. This book is unique in that there is not as much literature that focuses on this time period in Guadeloupe. If I decide to look at Guadeloupe as well as Martinique this will be key. It is also a useful source as a way to look at a failed emancipation movement compared to the success Haiti had gaining independence.

Edwards, Tim. "Why is Haiti so Poor?" *Speakin' Out News*, Jan, 2010.

This article was an interesting take on the state of Haiti. It attributes Haiti's failings on a mismanagement of funds by their government.

Fick, C. E. (1990). *The making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue revolution from below*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Fick is a key work to anyone researching the Haitian Revolution in any way. Her writing is a comprehensive exploration of the insurrections and revolts leading to the revolution, and the fighting that went on right up until Haiti declared independence January 1, 1804. The book focuses on the slave masses and the activities they undertook that contributed to the revolution. Fick uses an extensive bank of primary sources to explore the slave activities in both the North and South of Haiti. This book helped me to understand the repercussions of the treatment of slaves in Haiti.

Forster, R. (2002). Three Slaveholders in the Antilles: Saint-Domingue, Martinique and Jamaica. *The Journal of Caribbean History*, 36(1), 1-31.

This article is formatted similar to how I plan on formatting my thesis. It uses the journals and writings of slaveholders in an attempt to identify the differences in slaveholdings on three different islands. The most useful aspect of this article for my purposes was the planter who lived on the island of Saint-Domingue.

"Four Things You Need to Know About Education in Haiti." *The World Bank*. The World Bank, 12 Mar. 2015. Web. 03 Aug. 2015.
<<http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2015/03/12/four-things-you-need-to-know-about-education-in-haiti>>.

This article was published by the World Bank and is therefore steeped in data. It provides data on the cost and accessibility of education in Haiti.

Freedom House. Freedom House, n.d. Web. 13 July 2015.
<<https://freedomhouse.org/>>.

Freedom House is a very comprehensive analysis of how "free" a country is. They measure countries all around the world and rate how free they are based on civil rights, and freedom of speech, among other barometers.

Gaspar, D. B., & Geggus, D. P. (1997). *A turbulent time: The French Revolution and the Greater Caribbean*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

This book is a compilation of articles on the Caribbean during the time period of the French Revolution. There are three particularly relevant articles by David Geggus, Carolyn Fick, and Paquette. The Geggus article discusses movements that occurred in the Caribbean during the time of the French Revolution with a detailed timeline of those

uprisings at the end of the article. The other two articles discuss Saint Domingue and its affect on the rest of the Caribbean and French Louisiana.

Girard, P. R. (2014). *The Memoir of Toussaint Louverture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, USA.

While Toussaint Louverture only mentions being a slave once, “I was a Slave, I dare to declare it,” inclusion of his memoir in this study is more as an understanding point of the creation of the Haitian state. He was the primary leader of the Haitian revolution, and this is the most complete writing of his available.

"Haiti: International Religious Freedom Report 2003." *U.S. Department of State*. BUREAU OF DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS AND LABOR, n.d. Web. 04 Aug. 2015. <<http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2003/24496.htm>>.

This report specifically looks at religion in Haiti. Because of the importation of African traditions during the slave trade, voodoo, and Christianity are practiced along with a mélange of the two.

"Historic Figures: Louis XIV (1638-1715)." *BBC News*. British Broadcasting Corporation, n.d. Web. 23 July 2015. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/louis_xiv.shtml>.

BBC offers reliable encyclopedic information. I found this source while looking for specific information on the creation of the colony of Saint-Domingue.

Jenson, D. (2011). *Beyond the slave narrative: Politics, sex, and manuscripts in the Haitian revolution*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

King, S. R. (2001). *Blue coat or powdered wig: Free people of color in pre-revolutionary Saint Domingue*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

This book looks into a minority population on the island in the years leading up to the revolution: free blacks. It is interesting to see the various habits of blacks, those who were artisans, those who owned other slaves, and those who continued similar work in agriculture. This is a lesser known demographic and provides helpful insight on one more group that may have influenced Haiti's independence versus Martinique's assimilation.

Knight, F. W., & Vergne, T. M. (2005). *Contemporary Caribbean cultures and societies in a global context*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

This book focuses on challenges facing islands in the Caribbean in the face of a globalized economy and world. It discusses how globalization affects economies in the Caribbean and Haiti specifically. The book also looks at Caribbean Diasporas around the world as well as addressing how globalization has shaped the political landscape in the Dominican Republic and Cuba. This book does not offer anything particularly helpful for

me, but it does seem to take a holistic approach to examining globalization and the Caribbean.

Meyer, Jean, Jean Tarrade, Annie Rey-Goldzeiguer, and Jacques Thobie. *Histoire De La France Coloniale: Des Origines à 1914*. Paris: A. Colin, 1991. Print.

Palmié, S., & Scarano, F. A. (2011). *The Caribbean: A history of the region and its peoples*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

This book is a collection of scholarly articles on the Caribbean. The book covers a range of topics from the early history of the Caribbean to the region in the era of globalization. Since most of the articles are relatively short, their scope is limited. There are however, a couple of articles that relate to slave culture and the colonial design of the French Caribbean.

Quinn, Frederick. *The French Overseas Empire*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000. Print.

Reinhardt, C. A. (2006). *Claims to Memory: Beyond Slavery and Emancipation in the French Caribbean* (Vol. 10, Cultural Diversities and Intersections). New York: Berghahn Books.

This book is a study by Reinhardt to identify how the memory of slavery and slave trade in the French Caribbean has changed over time. The book focuses in on the second part of the 18th century. Reinhardt uses a variety of primary sources to analyze how to collective memory of historical events was formed and how it has evolved. The author characterizes her work as attempting to, “expose memories left out by history”. Her analysis of primary sources through comparison can help provide me with a model of how to use sources appropriately with each other in a comparative study.

Salien, J.-M.. (2004). Haïti vue de la Martinique. *The French Review*, 77(6), 1166–1180. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25479618>

This source discusses Haiti and Martinique concurrently while specifically addressing how Martinique views Haiti. The source is in French so an extensive knowledge of French is necessary, however it is a gold mine. This is a very niche study of history where very little literature exists. The source even examines reasons for divergence in the development of the two islands.

Schloss, R. H. (2009). *Sweet liberty: The final days of slavery in Martinique*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Singer, Barnett, and John W. Langdon. *Cultured Force: Makers and Defenders of the French Colonial Empire*. Madison, WI: U of Wisconsin, 2004. Print.

"The World Factbook- Haiti." Central Intelligence Agency. Accessed July 18, 2015

Biography

Julie Wilson is a Seattle native who spent her childhood traveling thanks to a commercial airline pilot for a father and adventurous mother. She spent three years living in the South of France before moving back stateside for an “All-American” small town high school experience on Vashon Island, Washington.

Julie had the chance to become an honorary Texan when she was accepted into the Plan II program at the University of Texas at Austin. During her time at the University, she focused on courses in French, government, history and international relations. She will graduate with a degree in Plan II and French with a certificate in Global Studies in December 2016.